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厦门大学

博 士 学 位 论 文

从“志愿失灵”到“新治理”：莱斯特·M·萨
拉蒙的非营利组织理论研究

From “Voluntary Failure” to “New Governance”: A Study on
Lester M. Salamon’s Nonprofit Organization Theory

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摘要

自 20 世纪 30 年代后,资本主义经济危机使得福利经济学家意识到了“市场失灵”,随后西方福利国家得以迅速发展。如今现代西方国家的公共财政支出和政府规模都明显增长。公共财政赤字问题困扰着西方政府,同时也对经济造成了极大破坏,引起了通货膨胀。政府机构的不断膨胀,导致政府机构僵化,效率低下,也使得官僚主义之风盛行。精简政府机构随之成了各国政府关注的问题,但是最终也未能逃脱“精简——膨胀——再精简”的怪圈。西方各国的滞胀困境也使人们意识到“政府失灵”时代的来临。于是在 80 年代,政府改革再掀起浪潮。同时伴随着全球化的出现和通讯设施的普及,全球化民主浪潮也席卷而来。世界各国政府的行政改革也在如火如荼地进行着。同时,也出现了很多市场和政府所不能独自解决的问题,如自然资源短缺、生态环境破坏、贫富差距扩大等一系列社会问题,这些问题均引起人们的普遍关注。在这一背景下,非营利组织作为一种重要的社会力量,在全球范围内得到了迅猛发展。在学术界关于公民社会和非营利组织的理论也层出不穷,赞扬与批评的声音此起彼伏。

正是在上述背景下,莱斯特·M·萨拉蒙开始关注非营利组织,并成为当代著名的、最具影响力的非营利组织研究者之一。本文的论题是萨拉蒙的非营利组织理论,之所以选择萨拉蒙的思想作为研究对象,不仅是萨拉蒙对非营利组织做了系统阐述,还因为他对非营利组织自身的反思和对传统理论的超越与创新。本文采用文献研究的方法,全面系统地介绍了萨拉蒙的思想理论内容,并揭示了萨拉蒙思想的内在逻辑。同时,采用比较分析的研究方法,并从历史主义视角出发,把萨拉蒙的思想放到西方特殊的学术背景与思想传统中去解释其理论的源起与影响,力图从总体上把握萨拉蒙的非营利组织理论,深入分析萨拉蒙的创新性观点与不足之处。另外,采用将理论与实际相结合的方法,把中国作为一个案例,用萨拉蒙的理论思想来透析中国的非营利组织发展状况,并提出一些启示性建议。

论文除导言部分之外,分为六大部分,主要内容如下:

导言部分阐明了本论文的研究背景、研究目的与意义、研究方法和创新点。近年来,现代社会的变化为非营利组织的发展创造了条件和契机,同时也带来了挑战。“全球性结社革命”已经到来,各种关于非营利组织的理论也应运而生,

其中萨拉蒙的思想颇具影响力。导言部分通过文献研究法回顾国内外学者对萨拉蒙思想的研究现状与研究缺憾,最终确定本文的研究问题、论述路径与结构安排。

第一章介绍了萨拉蒙的生平、著作与主要思想。首先对萨拉蒙的生平,即成长经历、学术生涯、关键性转折点和工作经历作了简单介绍。之后,阐述萨拉蒙的主要论著,并简要说明主要著作的中心思想和内容。最后,要简要地梳理萨拉蒙的主要思想,并分析各个理论之间的内在逻辑关系等。

第二章探讨了萨拉蒙非营利组织理论形成的背景。任何一种思想都不是凭空创造的,因此本章节主要从两个方面来分析萨拉蒙非营利组织理论的形成。首先,介绍萨拉蒙理论形成的社会背景,如全球化背景下出现的治理危机和当代非营利组织的迅速发展等。其次,探讨萨拉蒙理论形成的思想背景,包括公民社会理论、当代非营利组织理论和其他的当代社会理论等,从而分析他的非营利组织理论在西方政治学理论中的地位。

第三章论述了萨拉蒙对非营利组织的解读。首先,组织概念,即萨拉蒙的非营利组织的结构-运作式定义模式和非营利组织国际分类体系。其次,组织起源,萨拉蒙在解析传统起源论的基础上提出了自己的社会起源说。第三,组织功能,即萨拉蒙对非营利组织功能的分析。第四,组织计量,即介绍了萨拉蒙对非营利组织的计量和操作化过程,并与安海尔的公民社会指数进行了比较分析。

第四章阐述了萨拉蒙对非营利组织的反思。首先介绍了非营利组织在实践中的挑战。萨拉蒙看到了非营利组织在当代社会中的发展趋势,解释了非营利组织发展背后的时代原因,也认识到了非营利组织在发展过程中所面临的挑战。基于这种认识,萨拉蒙打破了有关非营利组织的神话,拨开了套在非营利组织头上的“光环”,提出了“第三种失灵”,即志愿失灵理论。

第五章分析了萨拉蒙对非营利组织理论的超越与新发展。萨拉蒙提出了非营利组织理论后,并没有就此而终止学术探索,而是对他自己的思想进行了再创新。首先,萨拉蒙从国家与社会关系的视角,提出了一种新型的伙伴关系。政府与非营利组织之间的合作是一种最合适的关系模式,也是西方发达国家中的常态模式。第二,萨拉蒙从工具主义视角出发,发展了一种系统的政府工具理论,将传统理论的研究主题从项目与组织主体转移到了对公共项目所需要的工具上来,为转变政府职能和提高公共服务绩效提供了一种新的解决路径。第三,从治理视角为出发点,萨拉蒙重新梳理了自己的思想理论,提出了一种新的治理理论即“新

治理”理论。

第六章是结论与启示。一方面,评析了萨拉蒙非营利组织理论的贡献与不足。本文认为萨拉蒙的思想从“志愿失灵”到“新治理”呈现出了一个内在逻辑性,从中可以透视出当代非营利组织理论的发展特征与趋势。另一方面,阐释了萨拉蒙的理论对中国非营利组织发展的启示,并为建构中国的公共治理模式提出了一些建议。

关键词: 萨拉蒙; 非营利组织; 志愿失灵; 新治理

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Abstract

Since the capitalist economic crisis in the 1930s made the welfare economists aware of the 'Market Failure', the western welfare states have boomed quickly. In the modern western countries the public financial expenditure and the size of the government have significantly grown. The fiscal deficit has been puzzling the western governments, and have threatened the economic development and caused the economic inflation. With the size of government swelling, the government agencies are rigescent, inefficient and bureaucratic. Then the downsizing became the concerns of the western government, however, they still could not escape from the vicious circle, which is 'symplification- expansion- resymplification- reexpansion'. The stagflation predicament makes people aware that the era of "Government Failure" is coming. Since the 1980s the governmental reform has swept across the world. With the emergence of globalization and the popularization of communication facilities, the wave of global democracy also swept and the administrative reform are also in full swing around the world. Meanwhile, a amount of problems that the market and government are not able to solve alone, such as the shortage of natural resources, ecological destruction, the widening of wealth gap, etc., have caused widespread concern. Then the nonprofit organizations as an important social force have boomed over the world. In the academia the theories on civil society and nonprofit organization are increasing, which includes the voice of praise and criticism.

Under the above context, Lester M. Salamon begun to focus on the nonprofit organization, and becomes a famous and the most influential researchers on the nonprofit organization in the contemporary era. The research topic of the thesis is about Salamon's Nonprofit Organization theory. The reasons why Salamon's theory is chosen as the research topic are not only that Salamon explains the Nonprofit Organization Theory systematically, but also because Salamon has rethought on the nonprofit organizations and has re-innovated the previous theories. It uses the literature search to illustrate Salamon's thoughts systematically, from which it reveals the internal logic of his theory. Then it uses the comparative method and also the historical method to illustrate the origin and impact of Salamon's theory in the particular western academic background and theoretical tradition, which may help analyze Salamon's theory deeply and evaluate the contributions and limitations. In addition, the thesis uses the method of integrating theory and practice to take China as

a case study and to use Salamon's theory to analyze the development of Chinese nonprofit organizations, and then to put forwards some suggestions to Chinese nonprofit organizations.

In addition to the Introduction, the thesis composed of six chapters. The main contents are as follows:

The Introduction part illustrates the research background, purpose and significance, research methodology and its innovations. In recent years the social changes have provided the conditions and opportunities and also brought the challenges to the nonprofit organizations. The "Global Associational Revolution" has come, and different theories of the nonprofit organization have emerged, in which Salamon's theory is quite influential. The Introduction part uses the methods of literature search to see the research status and their defects of the previous researches on Salamon's thoughts, and then explains the research question, analytical path and the structure of the thesis.

The first chapter introduces the life, works and main thoughts of Salamon. First of all, it is his life, which introduces briefly Salamon's growth experiences, academic career, the key turning point, and work experience. Then it introduces Salamon's main works, and also describes their central ideas and contents. Finally, it gets Salamon's thoughts into shape and also explores the internal logical relations between different theories.

The second chapter discusses the background of the formation of Salamon's Nonprofit Organization Theory. No idea is created in a vacuum, and therefore this chapter explores the formation of Salamon's thoughts from two aspects. On one hand, the social background has exerted influence on the formation of Salamon's theory, which includes the governance crisis in the context of globalization and the rapid development of the contemporary nonprofit organization. On the other hand, it explores what kind of traditional theories may also impact the formation of his theory, such as Civil Society theory, Modern Nonprofit Organization Theory, and other modern social theories, etc, and then analyzes the status of Salamon's Nonprofit Organization Theory in the western political theory.

The third chapter explains Salamon's interpretation to the nonprofit organization. First, it is the concept of organization, which means Salamon's Structure/ Operational definition model and the international classification of nonprofit organization. Second, it is the origin of organization. Salamon presents his Social Origin Theory based on

the analysis of the traditional origin theories. Third, it is the function of organization, which demonstrates Salamon's analysis to the function of nonprofit organization. Fourth, it is the measurement of organization, which shows how the nonprofit organization and its legal context are measured and operationalized by Salamon, and then compares his index with Anheier's Civil Society Index.

The fourth chapter demonstrates the rethink of Salamon on nonprofit organization. First of all, Salamon realizes the challenges of the nonprofit organization facing in practice. Salamon has seen the development trend of nonprofit organization in the contemporary times, and also explained the impulse of the "global associational revolution", but he also recognized the challenges that the nonprofit organization are facing in the process of development. Based on this understanding, Salamon broke the myth of the nonprofit organization, and push away the "Helo" set in the head of the nonprofit organization. In the end, he proposed the Third Failure, that is, the Voluntary Failure Theory.

The fifth chapter analyzes Salamon's transcendence and new developments to the theory of nonprofit organization. Since Salamon put forwards the nonprofit organization theory, he has not terminated the academic exploration but re-innovated his thoughts. Firstly, from the perspective of state and society relationship, Salamon proposed a new model of partnership. Cooperation between the government and the nonprofit organization is the most appropriate model of the relationship and also is the common model in the western developed countries. Secondly, from the tools perspective, Salamon proposed a new theory of Government Tools, which transfers the research focus of the traditional theory from project and organization to the tools needed by the public projects and also offers a new path to transform the function of the government and improve the performance of public services. Thirdly, from the governance perspective, Salamon re-organized his ideas and theories, and proposed a new theory called the "New Governance".

Chapter sixty is the Conclusion and Inspiration. On the one hand, it analyzes the contributions and limitations of Salamon's Nonprofit Organization Theory. The thesis gets a conclusion that Salamon's thoughts show a intern logic from 'Voluntary Failure' to 'New Governance', and we can see the features and trends of the development of the contemporary nonprofit organization theory from Salmaon's thoughts. On the other hand, it illustrates the inspiration of Salamon's theory to the development of Chinese nonprofit organizations, and also gives some suggestions

to build the public governance model in China.

Keywords: Salamon; Nonprofit Organization; Voluntary Failure; New Governance

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